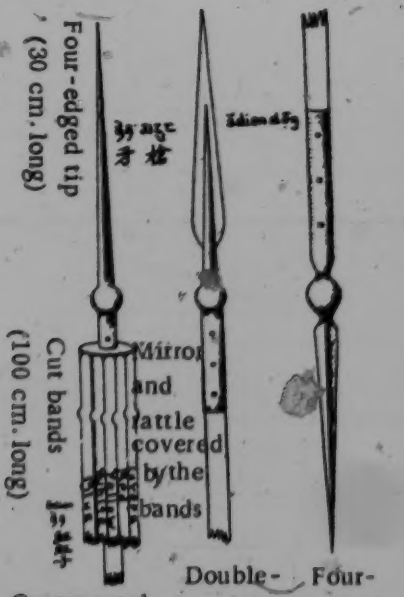
[19 cont.]
1791 prerequisites are necessary. Thus he officiates as soothsayer
[787] and invoker of spirits for almost all undertakings, such as house-building, oracles, offerings, festivals, travel, etc. (10). [The notes are not indicated in numerical order. The first nine are given just prior to or in connection with the word-list that follows.]

*778 787 10. [Foreign text p. 26.] Besides the spirit-spear, the Tujen have other oracles that are used in like manner, namely, the spirit table, sirie purgan,

• [532]



Ornamental spear of the soothsayer from Erh-ku-lung-szu

(Drawings from personal observation)

Fig. 1. Spirit-spear

[28 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 31-32 cont.] was kept there for his successor. It was two-edged and on one side bore the Bear constellation engraved on it; on the other side was the name ... niang-niang, that is, ... mother. The name of that goddess has escaped me.

[32] The swords used by the shaman, however, are not always two-edged. The informant, it is true, claims that this is the case for the shamans of the Tujen; he commented that the Tujen formerly had had no two-edged swords, with the exception of their shamans. Among the same Chinese shamans, however, I also saw single-edged swords, which are called ma-tao, that is, horse-swords; they are easy to swing and formerly were used by horsemen.

[484]

Even while traveling, the shaman treats his sword with care and reverence. He wraps it in the red head-cloth and carries it upright in his arm in front of his chest, almost the way one carries a small child. When he puts up at an inn, he places it in a clean spot and first pays it reverence. At night he puts it under his neck roll. I was able to observe this on various occasions en route.

Besides the sword, which he must always use, the shaman has other objects that he can use, depending upon the kind of demons or ceremonies, for example: the hemp whip, which [532] usually has a carved handle with a snake's head or death's-head; the demon fetters, likewise made of hemp with iron

[36 cont.]

Fig. 3

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a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

[532]

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soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[262]

[38 cont.]

792 796 782 778

Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3),

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important role in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus,

534 354 532

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5

Fig. 4: Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

[39 cont.]

792 796 574 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the gifts are brought after him on animals.

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. [465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351 796 784 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the beginning [609] [792] of the performance may not enter the yard. On the other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning may later come and go freely (7). [211] [177] In order to mark the yard as

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

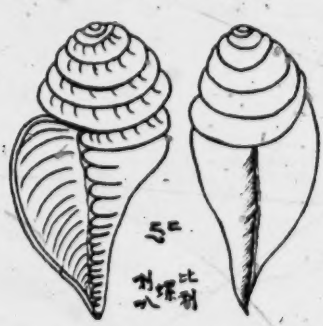

Fig. 6. Shells.

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[532]

[75 cont.]

*778 346 is held by hand for the time being while the men in great haste pile up the clay cones, basketful after basketful, over the urns and around the base of the column until the latter remains standing by itself. Once the urns are covered to a certain level, all kinds of additions are once more scattered over them, the kinds of things that the urns already contain and which have been left over for the purpose. Now, with the same ceremonies, the second layer follows with the next four urns, which are grouped precisely around their large urn, the latter being placed directly over the large urn below. And again the clay chorten are piled over them until finally the urns are buried under a pyramid and only the upper part of the column remains visible. -- The column comes to stand on the side of the urns facing a mountain, which, in this mountainous terrain, can be seen immediately.

Before the column is buried by the many chorten, it is sprinkled once more with holy water and fumigated (5). During

5. [Foreign text p. 78,] As monks in Kumbum said, before the erection of sky column, a floor drawing or a leaf of paper with a drawing is first placed on the ground (mandala). The informant was of the opinion that this is not always the case. It is noteworthy that this drawing has exactly the same name as the central fort, namely, sdzinkuor. This would indicate that in both cases the same thought is involved.

[532]

the entire ceremony, from morning until evening, the great incense offering is burned in front of the spot or at several places in the vicinity. At the conclusion, even the lama himself makes the incense offering before the consecrated and fumigated chorten-mountain with the column, while everybody kowtows.

Afterwards he again sits down on his mat and proceeds with his prayers. Meanwhile the chamber is built with great haste. First the four corner posts are erected and connected

[636 cont.]

764
[766]

[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
[171] fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not
[171] a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[322] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the house-
[782] hold altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-
• [532] fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

[782]
[776]
[177]

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The
[593] son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[642 cont.]
764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
792 crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
782 front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longitudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside. On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The crematory may be made in various forms. The one copied from the crematory of the lamas (cf. the drawing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the most superior one. Similarities with the understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died sitting up, I saw chorten which represented an almost exact copy of the crematory, only slightly more rounded.
-- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing is naturally also made, and usually not on the ground itself, [658] but rather one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[643 cont.]

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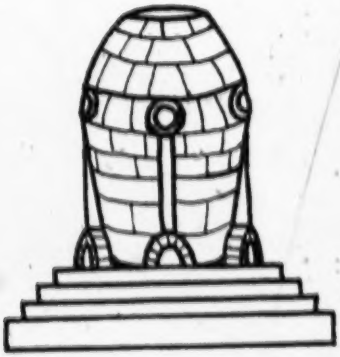

Crematory, tab.
(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[532]

[Note on foreign text pp. 657-658 cont.] the drawing on it; then the base is built on it. Several sheets are often pasted together. The drawing is sometimes so wide that it sticks out under the base. The ground-drawing naturally also varies in the decoration, but the thunderbolts and the lotus flower are always there. The oven with the corpse is thought of as borne by the lotus flower, out of which come the flames of the transformation of life during the burning. In this connection cf. the section, "The Fire-pouring," Note 4. -- There are certainly connections between the crematory and the bum-pa of the chorten.

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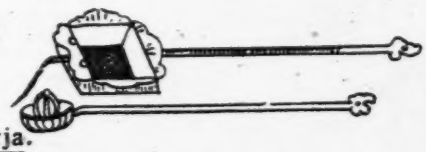
The funeral procession: On the morning of the day set, the mother's brother and all the relatives of the deceased burn white paper in front of the box; they kowtow three times and start a loud lamention. Four bearers take the box with the corpse up on

[645 cont.]

764 All who participated at the cremation wash their hands
[783] and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard
[792] gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama usually returns to his monastery on the same day.

[415] Ladling spoon and pouring tube. In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja.



[532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]

764 The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those
795 persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay
792 monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it
[778] is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult-vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

[778]

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.
778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

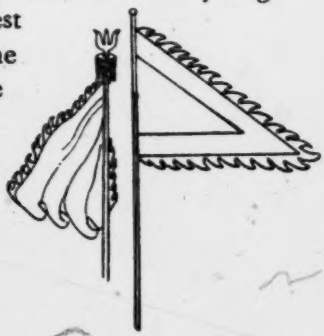
The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen

[532]
[791] The weather-torma: The Bon priest meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.
[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[782] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]

Magic dagger,
wooden peg, mpuru.
(From the drawing of a
Tujen.)

[837 cont.]

241 782 533 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustration appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the [177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 782 Among the flags there are black, red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are [532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper [177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words, [778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit [791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 782 787 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the [821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 782 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offering is usually connected with the

[848 cont.]

789 778 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door. Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter. [785] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang, but on the floor.

789 778 791 532 The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel, fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake, frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures. [783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand. [782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

[782] The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small, at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is [783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

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[849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away. They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.

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The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

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4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[850 cont.]

Details

755 778 The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures [756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

● 532 [171] [789]

2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

755 782 Then they are put on a tray with the following accompanying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[863 cont.]

782 scatters over it the six incense spices and the spice-powder of the 74 earth-god spices, mixes everything together thoroughly, and in each case puts this mixture in two portions on a little plate, since at the fire-pouring he must throw the fire-offerings into the fire in two sequences, in other words, there are as many plates as there are kinds, each with two portions. In order to protect the spices from dust and impurity, they are individually covered with a sheet of paper. -- The 46 pairs of pieces of consecration-wood are put together on a separate tray. The lama sprinkles [792] the burnt offerings thus arranged with holy water and has them taken to the household altar.

782 532 [791] [792] Preparation of the place for the fire: In conjunction with the preparation of the burnt offerings, the spear-soothsayer determines the place for the fire-pouring. He usually selects it in the yard. The lama puts the earth-god torma with the consecration-gifts on this spot. Once this has been removed, the lama measures off a rectangle about two ells square on the ground with a string whitened in gypsum or powdered lime. [Illustration appears here.] He beats the lines onto the ground, just as the carpenters do on wood with their black measuring string. Inside this square he draws a second, parallel rectangle that is about a handbreadth smaller. A frame is thus formed. Likewise with white powder and with the help of a wooden or leather pattern (3), he draws eight thunderbolts on this frame,

3. [Foreign text p. 867.] The patterns were formerly made of leather. Nowadays they are usually of wood or cardboard.

namely, one in each corner and one in the center on each side. The powdered lime is simply scattered over the pattern, and when he takes this away, [864] the contours of the drawing remain. The thunderbolts run parallel to the direction of the frame, in other words, they are not diagonal to it. Finally he

[864 cont.]
782 also draws two crossed thunderbolts in the center of the rectangle (4).
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4. [Foreign text pp. 867-868.] As other people and lamas relate, there is a great assortment of different ground-drawings which evidently merely represent variations of the mandala. My informant, for instance, had one of his relatives draw the above-described figure. He explained it in the following way [868] (see figure below): The thunderbolts represent the four principal directions and the four directions between them. The circle with the crossed thunderbolts signifies the foundation of the world-mountain rirā (Sumeru), for this rests on a golden disk. The thunderbolts signify the rest and stability and durability of the world's foundation. Originally they were supposedly made of gold as a sign of their indestructibility. The peonies are supposed to be the symbol of the flourishing familial good fortune. The same meaning also underlies the thunderbolt that is

[772]
[824]
[325]

Mandala at the fire-pouring.
(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[864 cont.]

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[171]

[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

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Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again withdraws into the house for prayer.

[333]

5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

[866 cont.]

192
782
[824]
[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndoṅmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. siṃha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, mani = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logoṅ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smān (Tib.).
dalān dierān sāmba smān = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[333] Wall: lāṅgāṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gaṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gaṅsār = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yūelwa = air-cloth.
rlōṅ yāg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosē.

[252 cont.]

756 778 still cannot explain its great significance and use.

The Other Idols

778 791 Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols. These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

[776] The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

[787] The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

[776] This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie purgan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

[532] The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible, with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently,

yard with a large veranda attached to it. On the long wall are depicted scenes of the life of Buddha, painted in Chinese style, similar to those seen in Chinese temples. 792 346

The chief temple hall (A), built on a high terrace, is the most conspicuous, thereby attracting the attention of visitors. It is larger in size and higher than the other two. It is built on the pattern of the luxurious Chinese temples, with a large porch in front and beautiful roofs; a large, magnificent staircase leads to the terrace, which is surrounded by a railing of carved red stone. It is said to have been built according to the pattern of the Temple of Heaven in Peking (built in 1420). Inside the chief temple hall, at its center, is an enormous carved white stone plinth, two meters square, which enthrones the big statue of Buddha, Jo-wo rin-po-chè (the gem of majesty—Shakyamuni), gift of Emperor T'ai-tsung, according to the stele.

On either side of this central statue a copper Buddha statue is enthroned on a plinth of white stone, a little smaller in size than the central one. In front of the statues, three big white stone plinths support three huge brass cauldrons. One contains butter, one vegetable oil and wicks burning before the statues, and the third wheat, colza, and spelt, as an offering to the Buddha. It is said that at the bottom of this huge cauldron there are still a few grains dating from the time of Emperor Hui-ti, and consequently they are bigger than normal, just like the saddle and stirrups noted previously. [532] [782]

In these temples hang inscriptions, offerings of the emperors honoring the Buddhas, dating from the periods of Hung-wu, 1368–1398; Yung-lo, 1403–1425; Hung-hsi, 1425; Hsüan-te, 1426–1435; Wan-li, 1573–1619 and Ch'un cheng, 1628–1643.

In temple (B) called the Chü-k'ang, smaller red stone plinths support three copper Buddha statues, and three butter, oil, and grain cauldrons. In front of the central statue, still in the temple, is the famous dead sandalwood tree, adorned with scarves of felicity, its trunk overlaid by large copper plates in order to preserve and support it.

Temple (C), dedicated to Byams pa hlarang (Maitreya—the loving one) is built according to the same pattern, but has plinths of white stone supporting three statues, with two lamps and offering cauldrons.

The display of huge timbers in the construction of the temples reminds one of times past, when gigantic trees adorned the tops of the mountains. Special roads and carts were built to carry the massive plinths to the spot. The ruins of four stupas adorn the courtyard, one on each side of the chief temple, and one on each side of temple (C). Enormous white stone plinths carved in the shape of elephants, support four huge drums and two smashed steles on either side of the entrance.

Ch'ü-t'an, with more than six hundred lamas in the heyday of its glory, founded two large subsidiaries:

[p. 23(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[39] most of them smaller than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[40]

TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard are another three or more rooms for storage of all kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[41] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depicting the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but associated with other gods. In the central panel the god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

[39] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area, affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[40] *Ibid.*, 239.

[41] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

[p.85(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

belt at the waist, the legs sprawled apart, boots with thick soles on the feet, and a sword in the hand. On the eastern panel is painted another general, the god of the Mountain (Shan Shen) in nearly the same posture. On the western panel is painted an older man with white beard, vest, a yellow robe, hands hidden in his large sleeves; he is the god of the Earth (T'u-ti Shen). Why these three gods are always placed together is a mystery. 756 776 346 532

In the foreground of the three images on the east is the god P'an-tze, the judge, holding in his hands the "register of the living and the dead" (Sheng-ssu p'u). On the west is a horned, black-faced devil with red skin, holding the "Tablet to hook souls" (K'u hun p'ai). It is a strange gathering of disparate gods whose association is a puzzle. The association of these gods in the same temple explains the fact that some shamans, when performing rites, wear a crown with only one image, that of the god of the Five Roads, while others wear a crown with three images (Wu-tao, Mountain god, Earth god), and some wear the crown with five images, adding P'an-tze and the black-faced devil. It is no wonder that one also sees in some temples of the god of the Five Roads the inscription: "Wu-tao, Mountain god, and Earth god, protect this village, that it may get peace." All these disconcerting anomalies do not bother either the shamans or the Monguors.

In temples, so far distant from one another, we find not only similarity in the representation of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, but even in the subjects painted on the frescoes on both the side walls of the temple. Father Grootaers calls the subject, "the pursuit of the evil ones," explaining that "the god honored in the temple is shown on horseback, engaged in a pursuit against the powers of evil, which he then brings back enchained." [32] What, however, may have been the original mystical or ascetic meaning is not known, but the subject seems wonderfully adapted to the circumstances of the country of Hsining and the mentality of the people. The region of Hsining is mountainous. The most terrible yearly scourges, dreaded by the people, are the summer hailstorms devastating their crops. They are supposed to be produced by evil spirits, who must be combatted and subdued. The specific means used by the shamans in order to protect the crops against that scourge will be recorded later.

On the eastern wall is painted the picture of a hailstorm. The pictures in Hsining are more fantastic and in better keeping with the imagination of a Chinese painter than the pictures seen by Father Grootaers. An old, wickedly shrewd Chinese woman with disheveled hair blows wind and storm by means of a pair of bellows. A fat Chinese, elaborately vested, extends his arms, and black, threatening clouds gush effusively out 756 532

[32] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 220. [p.86(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of his large sleeves—he is the spirit of the clouds. Another corpulent Chinese god pours a torrent of rain out of the urn of the rainbow, which he holds in his hands. A Chinese girl, standing in the sky, flashes two metal mirrors producing terrific lightning. A spirit with athletic appearance, having a couple of long wings attached to his back, clashes a hammer and chisel together with fury, producing thunder. All over the scene big hailstones rattle down on crops and herds of fleeing sheep and cows and people with bleeding faces. Horses, cows, sheep, birds, serpents, and a couple of men lie dead on the ground. In the sky the three famous gods on horseback, with a whole retinue of dragon riders led by the devil, and the judge accompanied by a wolf and tiger, start the pursuit of the evil doers. It is a terrific picture for people who know by experience the havoc wrought on their crops by hailstorms.

In front of this awful picture on the western wall is displayed the pageant of the victorious return of the gods and their retinue, riding spirited horses, with banners on high, tiger and wolf with mouths and teeth red with blood from devouring the evil doers. The whole procession is proceeding toward the gate of a walled town where an immense crowd, on bended knees, waits to thank and congratulate the gods.

These two pictures are never lacking, either in the temples of the dragon gods of Ho-hu, Hsüan-T'an, or in those of the goddesses of children. This fact is really significant and reveals the people's dread of hailstorms.

The God of the Five Roads with his associates, over whom he seems to preside, is supposed to be a protector against hailstorms, so much dreaded by the people.

All these cumulative facts prove without question that the Monguor shamans have adopted the gods of Taoism and honor them. [177]

SHAMANS AND THEIR OWN TWELVE TENGRIS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans is not exhausted by the cult of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, since they still honor their own old spirits, calling them, "Our Twelve good Tengris, the most potent among the spirits." The young shamans are dedicated to the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. Moreover, the shamans honor at home the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads.

Who are the Tengris? Most of the pictures I saw were very primitive and painted by shamans themselves; those painted by Chinese artists were better. The pictures represented four rows of three Chinese warriors riding horses and wearing bow and quiver; a man on foot, with bow and quiver, accompanied each of the soldiers. In the center of the picture there was painted a man, not a warrior, bigger in size than the others, dressed in black, with a black face and beard, riding a white tiger and holding in his hand a knotty staff. I was curious about them, and was told that the black tiger rider was the chieftain, the leader of the

[p.186(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

group, and also, that on old images painted before the Moslem rebellion, the twelve warriors and their servants were represented as Mongols, and not Chinese, and further, that a couple of modern shamans recently added to their pictures of the warriors, three Chinese girls riding on horseback, whom they called the "three small grandmothers," the *San Hsiao Niang Niang*.

The conviction existing among the Monguor shamans that the Twelve Tengris are their original and proper spirits is too general and too definite, and the behavior of the shamans toward them is too significant to be simply ignored or explained away. Further, the Monguors and the shamans know very well that shamans are not Taoist priests, and for that reason they call them *Bŏ* or *Fa shih*, "Masters of Magic," and not *Tao-shih*, "Masters of Tao," and they know very well that the rites performed by the shamans are not the same as those performed by Taoist priests in the country. Therefore, a rational explanation should exist.

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS TRACED

In the last month of the year the houses had to be cleansed and purified of all kinds of evil influences and spirits. At the palace of the prince a group of young boys, frightening and cursing the evil spirits hidden in the rooms, cried out that the "12 spirits" were on the way to hunt down and annihilate them; a group of 12 men, disguised as animals, led by the official exorcist (*Fang hsiang*) started pursuing the evil spirits.[33]

The eleventh on the list of the pursuing spirits was the "tiger," who was reputed the fiercest destroyer of all producers of calamities. Tigers are supposed to be the fiercest enemies of evil spirits . . . the tiger was the first dancer among the 12 performers of the rite.[34]

The tiger was the white tiger.[35]

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[33] Henri Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 246, Paris, Boccard, 1927.

[34] Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine antique*, 319, 299-320, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[35] *Ibid.*, 306. Ch. de Harlez, *Le livre des esprits et des immortels*, 176, Bruxelles, F. Hayez, 1893: "The nature of the white tiger, according to the *Shen-hsien t'ung chien* (18th century) seems to be at least ambiguous . . . the tiger is the strongest expression of the *Yang* principle (principle of power); the tiger lives 1,000 years and becomes white only after 500 years; its claws and the powder obtained by the burning of its skin are the most powerful; the thunder is its voice, talismans; or is produced by the noise of walking heavenly tigers. . . . In the regions of the west, at Fung lung, lived a white tiger accustomed to drinking human blood; every year the people offered a human sacrifice to it in order that it might desist from killing men. Chang Tao-ling (patron of the Taoists) ordered it to desist from this practice; the tiger left the country and disappeared forever. . . ."

Owen Lattimore, The gold tribe 'Fishkin Tatars' of the lower Sungari, *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* 40: 62, 1933: ". . . spirits like the bear, and especially the tiger, seem to be extremely rare as familiars (of the shamans), though they appear sometimes as enemies in the course of 'great spirit' ceremonies . . . I have heard only once of a shaman who apparently had a tiger familiar; he was regarded as a person much to be dreaded." "Shamans rely on animal spirits, the eagle, sturgeon, weasel, the *ulki* (an animal of the squirrel family), and otter appear to be the commonest familiars [of the shamans]."

[p.87(A)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

On the doors, on New Year's, was pasted the image of the tiger.[36] 756 776

These texts excerpted from the book *Liin heng* written by Wang Ch'ung, who died in A.D. 80–100, record rites practiced during the centuries before our era, and reveal that the twelve spirits were supposed the most powerful in the matter of driving out evil spirits, and that among the twelve, the White Tiger was paramount. 796

The cult of the twelve spirits led by their chieftan (Fang hsiang) combatting evil spirits seems to have been very popular in China. It was very tenacious, for it was still performed during the Liao dynasty, A.D. 907–1125. Wittfogel and Feng note: " . . . at the end of the year, 12 shamans, led by a great 'Wu,' sang, shouted, rang bells, and walked (or danced) around the tents with arrows in their hands, fighting off the spirits. Then they retreated to special tents for seven days." [37]

The cult of the twelve spirits of the Monguor shamans seems to be related to the old cult of the twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount, the whole group being led by a chieftain, the Fang hsiang. Although in their pictures twelve warriors are represented plus the black rider on a white tiger, they always call the picture "the picture of the Twelve Tengris," and not the picture of thirteen spirits, or the picture of the White Tiger. They assert that they are the servants of the twelve spirits, their apprentices are dedicated to the twelve spirits, and the Monguors who honor the picture at home as a protector of the family, always call it, "The picture of the Twelve Tengris." They no longer know that the twelve warriors represented, in old times, twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount. However, all these facts seem to evidence that it is deeply ingrained in their consciousness that they honor Twelve Tengris, and no more, which are the enemies and destroyers of evil spirits. What is really astonishing is that, notwithstanding that the origin of the cult is completely lost, they continue to paint twelve warriors, and to put in the center of the picture a big white tiger mounted by a rider holding, not weapons, but a knotty staff in his hand. In this way the prominent role played in old times by the white tiger seems to be conserved, for a tiger occupies the center of the picture. What is even 756 776 [532]

W. Heissig, Schamanen im Kürye-Banner, *Folklore Studies* 3: 1: 44, Peking, 1944. The shaman in the Kürye-Banner wears an apron during the performances, representing the skin of a brown spotted tiger.

Doolittle, *Social life of the Chinese*, 229. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 146. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 344–352; 2: 144, 160, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[36] Granet, *op. cit.*, 336.

[37] Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, (907–1125), *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 218, 1949. See also Eberhard, "Ich habe es für sehr wahrscheinlich dass die Tiertänze der No-Feste auf Turkestanischen fremde Einflüsse zuruck gehen," *Lokalkulturen*, *op. cit.* 1: 188.

[p.87(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1927) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is attached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits.

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the assumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them.

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificiently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

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ch'uan (i.e., of the entire Huangchung), a gift of 20,000 pieces of silk and a salary, making him understand that he was an official of the empire. At the same time he enjoined him to attack Hsi Hsia in Liangchow. Chiossulo judged his troops too feeble to risk the venture. Another official arrived with the same order. This time Chiossulo treated him very roughly. His behavior was not that of a subject treating with the emperor, but rather that of a nephew talking about an uncle,[28] because two Chinese princesses, Wen Ch'eng in 643 and Kin Ch'eng in 710, had been married to princes of the imperial Tsan-p'u house of Lhasa. The Chinese official readily understood the attitude of Chiossulo and informed the emperor (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 8*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 2*a*). During thirty years Chiossulo did not care for the empire which intermittently waged war with Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi with varied fortune, nor did he care for the Chinese officials whom the emperor tried to appoint in Huangchung; he cared only for his own kingdom, appointing his officials in Huangchung and on the East Kansu borders. Huangchung was the only country where people lived peacefully engrossed in agriculture and where trade boomed.

HSINING IN THE HEYDAY OF ITS GLORY

Chiossulo was in the heyday of his glory. He rebuilt the city of Hsining. According to the notes recorded by a Chinese official who at that time had been sent to confer with Chiossulo,[29] the circumference of the city was 20 li. The city was protected by a strong, high wall dotted with towers, and eight gates secured access to the city. In the center of this enormous city was constructed a large fortress having four strong towers at the corners. This fortress must have corresponded to the actual city of Hsining and the enormous outer city must have been built to secure a refuge for the surrounding people and their herds at the time of inroads from invading tribes. Chiossulo resided in the fortress in a sumptuous palace, whose roofs were covered with glazed tiles. In this city was a large hall built on a terrace having eight steps and a sumptuous entrance supported by huge pillars. The administration buildings were constructed inside the city, two small palaces for the princesses of the Ch'i Tan and of the Hsi Hsia, and a splendid temple in which was throned a gilded Buddha statue, ten feet high, adorned with strings of pearls and a precious mantle.

[28] A. Rona Tas, Social terms in the list of grants of the Tibetan Tunhuang Chronicle, *Acta Orientalia*, V, 5: 266. 1955. Relationship between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king, of uncle and nephew on the maternal side, essentially reflects the Tibetan avuncular system; this relationship, which used to determine the mutual position of the two rulers, is rooted in social history.

[29] Enoki, *op. cit.*, 90, 91. Oshono kika keiryaku ni tsuite (On the *Hsi-ho ching-luch* of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, Tokyo (*Meng-ku hsueh-pao*,) I, Shuo fu, 15: 12 *a-b*.